

MAR 16 1928

The Classical Weekly

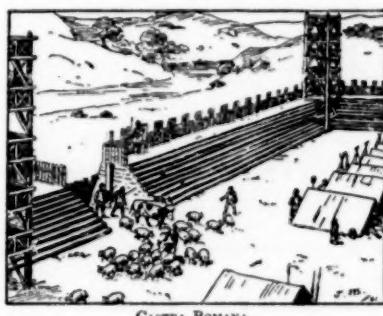
Published on Monday, October 1 to May 31, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, Decoration Day). Place of Publication, Barnard College, New York City. In United States of America, \$2.00 per volume; elsewhere, \$2.50. Address all communications to Charles Knapp, at 1737 Sedgwick Avenue, New York City.

Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 28, 1918.

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MONDAY, MARCH 12, 1928

WHOLE NO. 575



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The Classical Weekly

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LITERATURE IN EARLY ROME AND LITERATURE IN EARLY AMERICA

One of my recreations, for a long time, has been the reading of books that, one would suppose, would have no direct meaning or value for the student of Roman life and Latin literature. In particular, I have read much in American history, especially in the form of biography. Some of the by-products of such reading, in the way of matter that very directly concerns the classical student, I have set forth, from time to time, in the columns of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY (see e. g. 13.196, 204, under (16), 14.113-114, 121-122, 17.87-88, 18. 57-58, 65-66, 106, 113-115, 19.3, 44-45, 114, 159-161, 20.97).

Last September, in Lexington, Kentucky, I picked up a book I had long planned to read, a volume entitled William Hickling Prescott, by Harry Thurston Peck (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1905. Pp. x + 186). As I read, I was not only charmed by the book itself, but I was made to live over again days in which, as undergraduate and as graduate, I was privileged to be a student under Professor Peck. One group of pages in particular, which I shall quote *in extenso* below, made me think of a passage in a book which, as long ago as 1883-1884, I studied carefully as one of the contestants for a prize of one hundred dollars, a price open, via competitive examination, in those days, to freshmen. The title-page of my copy of the book runs as follows: "A Brief History of Roman Literature for Schools and Colleges, Translated and Edited from the German of Hermann Bender, by E. P. Crowell and H. B. Richardson, Professors of Latin in Amherst College. Boston: Published by Ginn, Heath, and Co., 1881". The copyright is dated in 1879. The original work had been published at Tübingen, in 1876, under the title *Grundriss der Römischen Literaturgeschichte*.

I once knew page after page of this book by heart. In particular, the opening paragraphs remained deeply rooted in my memory. They are as follows:

It was only at a late period that Roman literature rose to any thing like a high plane, namely, after the time when the Romans came into more active intercourse with the Greeks, and received from them abundant and varied incitement. The Roman character was in itself poorly adapted to literary development. There were wanting just those qualities which fit a people for literary and especially for poetical productions, and by which the Greeks were distinguished,—wealth and creative power of imagination, fine sense of form and instinctive appreciation of the beautiful, tendency towards the ideal, and free development of individuality. The peculiarities which make up the Roman character lie in the domain of the practical,—keen intellect, dispassionate reflection, a cast of mind masculine in its earnestness yet not youthful, inclination to work, energetic striving after the real,

restraint of individuality by the interests of the whole, strict subjection of the individual to the state.

The literary activity of the Greeks appeared to the Romans as an aimless pastime and as busy idleness; even the Roman *otium*—at least in the earlier times—was filled with a more earnest activity than the free and easy *otium Graecum*, and the lively *πολυτραγωσίη* (busy curiosity) of the Athenians. On this account the Romans stood for a long time in an exclusive and contemptuous attitude towards the Greek mind; indeed, even when the higher circles had long begun to allow themselves to be penetrated by the elements of Greek culture, they displayed, in public at least, in view of the continued unpopularity of such Grecian tendencies, an aristocratic disdain and an often affected consciousness of their own superiority. With their conscientiousness in the service of the family and the community, the Romans had neither time nor inclination for purely literary occupations. For more than five centuries, therefore, nothing was produced except in such departments as from the outset made no demand for artistic perfection, as, for example, the popular farce, or such as served a definite practical purpose, as, for example, the sacred lyric, the writing of matter-of-fact chronicles, and the collection of legal formulae.

Even as a verdant freshman, I resented these paragraphs. As time went on, I was more and more convinced that the views expressed in them, particularly in the opening paragraph, were wholly unsound. I voiced, at last, a protest against them, in an article entitled The Originality of Latin Literature, The Classical Journal 3.251-260, 299-307 (May and June, 1908).

In the years since 1883-1884, the attitude of scholars toward the originality and the worth of Latin literature has, one is glad to see, undergone a very decided change. No one could write to-day, at least for the scholarly world, as Bender did in 1876. However, we are still in need of a thoroughly just picture of the attitude of the Romans toward literary pursuits—or rather of their two attitudes, that which obtained down to the days of Augustus, and that which came into being in the time of Maecenas, Messala, and Augustus,—of the factors which caused each attitude, of the influence which those factors had, in the one case on the retardation of the growth of Latin literature, in the other on the stimulation of that growth, and, more especially, of the value of the written materials which were in existence among the Romans before contact with the Greeks came in larger measure, and, continuously, primarily as the result of the war with Tarentum and Pyrrhus, a war which hastened, no one can guess by how many years, the inevitable struggle with Carthage. On some at least of these matters I wrote in a paper entitled The Attitude of the Romans Toward Literary Pursuits, published in The Latin Leaflet, Numbers 159-160 (December 10, 17, 1906).

I would call attention here to two paragraphs, good in themselves, but, I think, all too brief, in Professor

J. W. Duff's masterly book, *A Literary History of Rome From the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age* (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.120). See pages 64-65 of the book. The second paragraph I quote here in full:

It is not enough, however, to regard the archaic fragments merely as specimens of the language in the making; or to adduce them as proving how essential to the birth and growth of ideas of beauty at Rome was her contact with foreign influence. Justice must also be done to their historic aspect. Everything written at Rome, whether on stone, metal, or more perishable material, bears the impress of environment; and these fragments are indees to certain social, practical, and religious features of Roman life. The early monuments are simple, rough, solemn, practical, like the folk of the city-state, who, during centuries of political struggle inside Rome, and continuous warfare throughout the length and breadth of Italy, had scant time left them for art.

I had long, in lectures to my classes, pointed out that there is a striking parallel between the early literary and artistic history of our own country and the early literary and artistic history of Rome. I had, however, never worked the matter out in form for publication. I need not do so now. Instead, I can quote, as I do now, certain pages (4-9) in Professor Peck's book on Prescott, to which reference was made above.

In the Middle States, on the other hand, a very different condition of things existed <from that which had obtained in the Southern States>. Here the population was never homogeneous. The English Royalists and the Dutch in New York, the English Quakers and the Germans in Pennsylvania and the Swedes in Delaware, made inevitable, from the very first, a cosmopolitanism that favoured variety of interests, with a resulting breadth of view and liberality of thought. Manufactures flourished and foreign commerce was extensively pursued, insuring diversity of occupation. The two chief cities of the nation were here, and not far distant from each other. Wealth was not unevenly distributed, and though the patron system had created in New York a landed gentry, this class was small, and its influence was only one of many. Comfort was general, religious freedom was unchallenged, education was widely and generally diffused. The large urban population created an atmosphere of urbanity. Even in colonial times, New York and Philadelphia were the least provincial of American towns. They attracted to themselves, not only the most interesting people from the other sections, but also many a European wanderer, who found there most of the essential graces of life, with little or none of that combined austerity and rawness which elsewhere either disgusted or amused him. We need not wonder, then, if it was in the Middle States that American literature really found its birth, or if the forms which it there assumed were those which are touched by wit and grace and imagination. Franklin, frozen and repelled by what he thought the bigotry of Boston, sought very early in his life the more congenial atmosphere of Philadelphia, where he found a public for his copious writings, which, if not precisely literature, were, at any rate, examples of strong, idiomatic English, conveying the shrewd philosophy of an original mind. Charles Brockden Brown first blazed the way in American fiction with six novels, amid whose turgid sentences and strange imaginings one may here and there detect a touch of genuine power and a striving after form. Washington Irving, with his genial humour and well-bred ease, was the very embodiment of the spirit of New York. Even Professor Barrett Wendell,

whose critical bias is wholly in favor of New England, declares that Irving was the first of American men of letters, as he was certainly the first American writer to win a hearing outside of his own country. And to these we may add still others,—Freneau, from whom both Scott and Campbell borrowed; Cooper, with his stirring sea-tales and stories of Indian adventure; and Bryant, whose early verses were thought to be too good to have been written by an American. And there were also Drake and Halleck and Woodworth and Paine, some of whose poetry still continues to be read and quoted. The mention of them serves as a reminder that American literature in the nineteenth century, like English literature in the fourteenth, found its origin where wealth, prosperity, and a degree of social elegance made possible an appreciation of belles-lettres.

Far different was it in New England. There, as in the South, the population was homogeneous and English. But it was a Puritan population, of which the environment and the conditions of its life retarded, and at the same time deeply influenced, the evolution of its literature. One perceives a striking parallel between the early history of the people of New England and that of the people of ancient Rome. Each was forced to wrest a living from a rugged soil. Each dwelt in constant danger from formidable enemies. The Roman was ready at every moment to draw his sword for battle with Faliscans, Samnites, or Etruscans. The New Engander carried his musket with him even to the house of prayer, fearing the attack of Pequots or Narragansetts. The exploits of such half-mythical Roman heroes as Camillus and Cincinnatus find their analogue in the achievements credited to Miles Standish and the doughty Captain Church. Early Rome knew little of the older and more polished civilisation of Greece. New England was separated by vast distances from the richer life of Europe. In Rome, as in New England, religion was linked closely with all the forms of government; and it was a religion which appealed more strongly to men's sense of duty and to their fears, than to their softer feelings. The Roman gods needed as much propitiation as did the God of Jonathan Edwards. When a great calamity befell the Roman people, they saw in it the wrath of their divinities precisely as the true New Engander was taught to view it as a "providence." In both commonwealths, education of an elementary sort was deemed essential; but it was long before it reached the level of illumination.

Like influences yield like results. The Roman character, as moulded in the Republic's early years, was one of sternness and efficiency. It lacked gayety, warmth, and flexibility. And the New England character resembled it in all of these respects. The historic worthies of Old Rome would have been very much at ease in early Massachusetts. Cato the Censor could have hobnobbed with old Josiah Quincy, for they were temperamentally as like as two peas. It is only the Romans of the Empire who would have felt out of place in a New England environment. Horace might conceivably have found a smiling *angulus terrarum* somewhere on the lower Hudson, but he would have pined away beside the Nashua; while to Ovid, Beacon Street would have seemed as ghastly as the frozen slopes of Tomi. And when we compare the native period of Roman literature with the early years of New England's literary history, the parallel becomes more striking still. In New England, as in Rome, beneath all the forms of a self-governing and republican State, there existed a genuine aristocracy whose prestige was based on public service of some sort; and in New England, as in Rome, public service had in it a theocratic element. In civil life, the most honourable occupation for a free citizen was to share in this public service. Hence, the disciplines which had a direct relation to government were the only civic disciplines to

be held in high consideration. Such an attitude profoundly affected the earliest attempts at literature. The two literary or semi-literary pursuits which have a close relation to statesmanship are oratory and history—oratory, which is the statesman's instrument, and history, which is in part the record of his achievements. Therefore, at Rome, a line of native orators arose before a native poet won a hearing, and therefore, too, the annalists and chroniclers precede the dramatists.

In New England it was much the same. Almost from the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, there were men among the colonists who wrote down with diffusive dulness the records of whatever they had seen and suffered. Governor William Bradford composed a history of New England; and Thomas Prince, minister of the Old South Church, compiled another work of like title, described by its author as told "in the Form of Annals." Hutchinson prepared a history of Massachusetts Bay; and many others had collected local traditions, which seemed to them of great moment, and had preserved them in books, or else in manuscripts which were long afterwards to be published by zealous antiquarians. Cotton Mather's curious *Magnalia*, printed in 1700, was intended by its author to be history, though strictly speaking it is theological and is clogged with inappropriate learning,—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The parallel between early Rome and early Massachusetts breaks down, however, when we consider the natural temperament of the two peoples as distinct from that which external circumstances cultivated in them. Underneath the sternness and severity which were the fruits of Puritanism, there existed in the New England character a touch of spirituality, of idealism, and of imagination such as were always foreign to the Romans. Under the repression of a grim theocracy, New England idealism still found its necessary outlet in more than one strange form. We can trace it in the hot religious eloquence of Edwards even better than in the imitative poetry of Mrs. Bradstreet. It is to be found even in such strange panics as that which shrieked for the slaying of the Salem "witches." Time alone was needed to bring tolerance and intellectual freedom, and with them a freer choice of literary themes and moods. The New England temper remained, and still remains, a serious one; yet ultimately it was to find expression in forms no longer harsh and rigid, but modelled upon the finer lines of truth and beauty.

I cannot refrain from touching, though it must be very briefly, one point more. I am well aware that the rejoinder 'You're another' is not particularly original or convincing. But, if there still remain any one who is minded to speak slightly of early Roman steps toward the development of a literature, or of the attitude toward literary pursuits which was, so far as words went, maintained by conservative Romans long after the Romans had a literature of which they might well be proud, I would ask him to note what the attitude of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century England was toward literature and toward certain other phases of art. That period of the history of England was, surely, not a pioneer period. Yet mark what Thackeray had to say of it (I am quoting from my paper, *The Attitude of the Romans Toward Literary Pursuits*, the concluding paragraph):

It may be worth while to close this paper by remarking that in England itself, to the very beginning of the nineteenth century, the attitude of many toward literary pursuits, toward painting and sculpture, was virtually identical with that which has been ascribed above to the Romans. A very few citations must suffice. In his lecture on George the Third, Thackeray

says: "A few years since the profession of arms was the only one which our nobles could follow. The Church, the Bar, medicine, literature, the arts, commerce were below them". Again, in *The Newcomes*, chapter xxvii, he says: "Newcome did not seem seriously to believe that his son would live by painting pictures, but considered Clive as a young prince who chose to amuse himself with painting. The Muse of Painting is a lady whose social station is not altogether recognized with us as yet. The polite world permits a gentleman to amuse himself with her, but to take her for better or for worse! forsake all other chances and cleave unto her! Many a respectable person would be as much shocked at the notion as if his son had married an opera-dancer". In *Pendennis*, chapter xxxvi, Major Pendennis says: "My object, Arthur, is to make a man of you—to see you well placed in the world, as becomes one of your name and my own, sir. You have got yourself a little reputation by your literary talents, which I am very far from undervaluing, though in my time, begad, poetry, and genius and that sort of thing were devilish disreputable. There was poor Byron, for instance, who ruined himself, and contracted the worst habits by living with poets and newspaper writers, and people of that kind. But the times are changed now—there's a run upon literature—clever fellows get into the best houses, begad".

CHARLES KNAPP

REVIEWS

Aristotle. By John Burnet. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume XI. London: Humphrey Milford; New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch (no date). Pp. 18. 35 cents.

It was the reviewer's privilege to be in the audience at the Rooms of the Royal Society, in London, when this "Annual Lecture on a Master-Mind" (for the British Academy, under the Henriette Hertz Trust) was delivered (July 2, 1924); the impression then made by the eminent lecturer, Fellow of the Academy, has been only deepened by a study of his utterance since it was printed. It is a bold and fascinating tract, freighted with matter. I have marked so many passages for quotation, comment, or query, that I can here use but a part of them, sometimes in Professor Burnet's own words, sometimes in paraphrase, with interspersed reflections, and with general observations at the end.

The lecture itself is a constructive review of Werner Jaeger's *Aristoteles, Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1923); or rather it is a new construction upon a basis suggested by Professor Jaeger. "The great merit of <his> work", says Professor Burnet (3), "is that it abandons the untenable idea that the published works of Aristotle <now mainly lost> are all to be referred to his earlier life, while the unpublished lectures which we have belong to the time when he was at the head of the Lyceum at Athens..." The manuscripts of these lectures, thinks Professor Burnet, whatever their dates, were not available for use after the death of Theophrastus until their recovery in the first century B. C. The assumption seems to be warranted for Aristotle's own manuscripts, upon which his lectures or conferences were based, but does not exclude the probability, of which Professor Burnet takes no account, that the substance of lecture-courses may continue in use through the

notes of students who attended the lectures; we partly owe the *Encyklopädie* of August Boeckh to notes of this sort. However that may be, "the manuscripts discovered at Scepsis are...of various dates and have not been finally revised" (6). Thus Book 1 of the *Metaphysics* is relatively early, and the Nicomachean *Ethics* "is one of Aristotle's latest works..." (15). He "gave lectures for over twenty years..." (5), a period embracing his stay in Asia Minor and his last period at Athens.

Very interesting are the relations, and also the contrasts, brought out by Professor Burnet between Aristotle and Plato. We have Plato's published works, and know little about his lectures. The published works, save the *Laws*, were mostly finished before Aristotle first studied in Athens, or came under Plato's influence. The lectures were largely mathematical, and Aristotle, no great mathematician, was more deeply influenced by a later development in the interests of the Academy when it took up the classification of plants and animals. "...If we had only the lectures given by Plato in the Academy and the published works of Aristotle, ... we should have a more mathematical Plato and a considerably more popular Aristotle..." (6). In view of our ignorance, does not Professor Burnet differentiate a little too sharply? "...when Aristotle first joined the Academy, Plato was apparently not there;...for the first ten years of Aristotle's membership, the personal influence of the head of the Academy on him must have been slight and intermittent..." (8). Even so, "there can be no doubt at all that the influence of Plato on Aristotle was very great indeed..." The *Phaedo*, in particular, "made a deep impression upon him...", as may be judged from the argument on the immortality of the soul in Aristotle's early dialogue entitled *Eudemus* (see *Frag.* 45, Rose). The *Protrepticus*, somewhat later, likewise showed the influence of Plato.

When Plato died, Aristotle went to Asia Minor, and the second period of his scholarly life begins, lasting approximately from 347 to 334 B. C. For the first three years of this he was at Assos, where Book 1 of the *Metaphysics* was composed, as were probably also Books 2 and 3. In other words, from the age of 37 to that of 49 he was away from Athens, "and we can hardly be wrong in holding that these were the most important years of his life..." (11). The statement should be valid enough for Aristotle's thinking, but not necessarily for his writing, though he probably considered himself at the height of his powers at the age of 49 (see *Rhetoric* 2.14), and did not then think them on the wane. At all events we should not slight the importance of the last thirteen years of his life, when he was at the head of the Lyceum, especially in view of Professor Burnet's belief that, had Aristotle lived out the normal expectation of life for a Greek philosopher, as did Plato—had he lived, say, to the age of 80—he would have elaborated and revised the work of his constructive period.

From Assos Aristotle went to Mitylene, in Lesbos; here he must have studied plants and animals, for "...Professor D'Arcy Thompson has pointed out that

most of the species described by Aristotle belong to Asia Minor, and, in particular, to Lesbos..." (12).

...if this is right, it is...the clue to the whole development of Aristotle. He was not a mathematician like Plato, but he found himself when Plato turned his attention to biology.... To Aristotle, when once he had become interested in biology, the mathematical form in which Plato had presented the theory <of Ideas> ceased to have any meaning...<13>.

And "it was mainly Aristotle's passionate interest in biology that led him to drop the theory of 'Ideas' altogether..." (13).

Here I must interject some query and comment. Plato himself, of course, was not at Mitylene; Professor Burnet duly notes the existence of an Asiatic branch of the Academy at Assos, under the patronage of Hermias, a convert to Platonism. But what aroused Plato's interest in zoology? Are we not here dealing with a more widespread interest? Or, if it be local, was not Ionia the home of geography and other special sciences? Indeed, why not begin, for Aristotle, with the probable interests of his father, who was both Ionian and a physician? Why should we not suppose that zoology came to Athens, to Plato, to the comic poets before Plato, or to the teachers of those poets, from without? It is a more probable supposition that there were scientific observers of birds, wasps, and frogs before Aristophanes than that Aristotle's interest in biology developed only in a straight line from Plato. These observers, or their treatises, may well have come to Athens from abroad, as did philosophy itself; its alien origin is very properly a matter of great significance to Professor Burnet (7): "In the first place Aristotle was not an Athenian but an Ionian. It is, indeed, one of the most remarkable facts about Greek philosophy that it was hardly Athenian at all..." It is not so remarkable, however, that philosophy reached its culmination at the cosmopolitan center, for tragedy, comedy, and rhetoric, likewise immigrant, were there developed to their highest point. One may imagine that the same is true of biology—that it came to Athens from abroad, and had taken root before the time of Plato. That the Academy made investigations into botany and zoology we know, so far as I am aware, only from a fragment of the comic poet Epicharis (see my volume, *An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy*, etc., 26)¹.

So the theory that the earth rotates upon its axis came to Athens from Pontus. Professor Burnet thinks (14) there is no doubt that under the influence of the Academy "even the heliocentric theory had been evolved..." He gives no evidence to support this belief, nor does one find enough in Sir Thomas Heath's *Aristarchus*². Indeed, the fact that Aristotle does not accept the theory looks like a piece of evidence that it did not emanate from the circle of Plato. It may have been an advance made by the Academy, after Plato's death, upon the work of Heraclides; perhaps that is what Professor Burnet means. Or perhaps he has in

<¹This book will be reviewed in the present volume of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. C. K.>.

<²For a discussion of this matter, by Professor Cooper, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.133. C. K.>.

mind the Pythagorean concept of a spherical earth and a 'central fire'—something different from the geocentric theory; it has left its mark on Plato, and doubtless led to further speculations in his school. But the history of the heliocentric theory before Aristarchus is dark and problematical, while that of the Ptolemaic theory is relatively clear, with obvious results. Aristotle's stationary earth and revolving heavens were precisely the thing that made him (14) "unacceptable to the great men of the Renaissance, and has stood in the way of a proper appreciation of him ever since.... his real greatness was as a biologist" ((14)). "I am neither a biologist nor a mathematician...", says Professor Burnet (13), "but I cannot help wondering whether there is not, in the twentieth century, a tendency for their opposite points of view <those of mathematics and biology> to come together...."

To-day there are signs that, specialization in research having run to an extreme, we are now at the beginning of a counter-movement which should lead the specialists back to a comprehensive philosophy. Since Aristotle was an encyclopedist, as well as a specialist in many fields, we can make allowance for any defect he showed on the side of mathematics; and even there we may give him more credit than does Professor Burnet for the treatise *De Caelo*. Then, taking his biological interest in a wider sense than it has in the lecture, we see that Aristotle can do much toward bringing diverse branches of modern investigation into one complete and harmonious whole. It is doubtless true, as Professor Burnet contends, that Aristotle had no natural bent for the mathematical 'ideas' of Plato—unless we conceive these mathematical ideas or forms under the likeness of things alive. But if Aristotle, rejecting mathematical concepts, passed over into biology in his search for the meaning of things, he did not desert the concept of *form*. And it appears that a biological concept of form, taken in the widest sense, is well-fitted to those disciplines which lie between mathematics or astronomy and zoology. Such are politics and poetry. Aristotle gains much when he assumes that the State is a natural form, and that 'man is by nature a political animal'. In poetry he gains much by likening a work of art to a living creature; as in the *Phaedrus* (264 C) the Platonic Socrates also compares a speech to a properly articulated animal. But, in fact, the organic comparison doubtless was a commonplace to Greek thinkers both before and after Plato. In a general application it would be helpful to modern science and philosophy.

"...Most of the best of what we have <from Aristotle> belongs", says Professor Burnet (17), "to the time when he was not at Athens..." The word "Most" would seem to include the biological writings, and to exclude the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*. But the last thirteen years of his life, save the very end, were spent at Athens; and, in spite of the foregoing statement, Professor Burnet thinks "that what is most wanted is a study of his thought in these last years..." "...it is still possible to ascertain more than has yet been found out as to the chronological

order of his works..." (17), even though the loss of most of his popular works makes it "difficult for us to give an intelligible account of Aristotle's philosophical development...", "and that is what is of most interest to-day..." (5). I question whether an account of that development is of more importance than the absolute value of Aristotle's riper work. However obsessed our generation may be by evolutionary notions, the study of any development is mainly significant when it throws light upon something of lasting value. Would the history of Aristotle's thought, if we knew it, greatly aid our understanding of the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*? Professor Burnet observes (7) that "...Aristotle, who was the contemporary of Demosthenes, only mentions him twice or thrice in his *Rhetoric*..." This need not mean, nor does Professor Burnet imply, that the *Rhetoric* was not written at Athens; and there are good reasons why Aristotle should mention Isocrates more often. There are good reasons for assigning both the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* to one or other of the periods spent by Aristotle in Athens, where eloquence and the drama were long cultivated. We are tempted to put the third book of the *Rhetoric* rather late in his life.

But this brings us to a point that is not dwelt upon in Professor Burnet's lecture—the probability that a teacher will keep revising a course of lectures, perhaps as often as he gives it. When Professor Burnet interprets the signs of revision, one might think it was a labor that Aristotle never engaged in until he approached the end of his career. The possibility of occasional revision, or even of slight changes like the substitution of new examples, makes it very difficult to speak with certainty of the time when a set of lectures was composed. Further, we cannot be sure that Aristotle's method of teaching was by University lectures of the modern sort; one may rather hope that he was too good a teacher to employ this method alone without recourse to dialectic. The Socratic, and the Platonic, method, from which his developed, was more elastic than that of pure exposition. Whatever the procedure, Aristotle would gradually alter and expand his notes for courses like those we now find represented in the *Poetics*. One could wish that Professor Burnet had more to say on this point. To the *Rhetoric*¹ he barely alludes; to the *Poetics* he does not allude at all.

The possibility of occasional revision is a ground for questioning Professor Burnet's confident tone when he deals with matters that are at best conjectural. On the other hand, we may gladly accept what he says (16) of Aristotle and "the traditional Ionic scientific style..." Therewith we dispose of a good deal of nonsense that has been kept alive, by Margoliouth, for example, on the 'esoteric' writings of Aristotle. This 'Ionic' style is comparable to that which has been developed for German technical scholarship. It is well-fitted to its purpose, and, as elaborated in lectures, was intelligible enough to its scholarly or scientific audience.

¹Why do British scholars (Professor W. Rhys Roberts is an honorable exception) belittle or neglect the *Rhetoric*? Have they compared it with other works on the same subject, and especially with subsequent works that are not directly indebted to it? Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is still the best; its progeny, recognized or unrecognized, are more or less degenerate.

The audience, however, did not need to be itself peculiarly 'Ionic'; it would merely not be composed of 'average' Athenians. Any student in a German University soon becomes conversant with the contemporary 'Ionic' style abroad; see Professor T. F. Tout, in History 10.317, on Felix Liebermann's defense of his technical style as the right medium for the discussion of the Old English laws.

We may provisionally accept Professor Burnet's contention (16) that "at the time of his death, Aristotle was on the point of teaching a system in which everything was to be subordinated to the theoretic or contemplative life..." It seems unlikely that he would have utterly submerged rhetoric, which he defends as a practical art, in the final revision of his system; his three books on the subject would remain on their present level in his thought. The *Protrepticus* seems to have been composed before them; and "The most striking feature of <this> work was that it recommended in the strongest manner the contemplative life as the highest possible for those that are capable of it..." (9-10).

Finally, we may accept the very interesting idea (17) that "Aristotle's comparatively early death has deprived us" of the said revision, "which he would certainly have undertaken...", had he lived, as did Plato and other Greek philosophers, to an advanced age. "...It is worthy of notice that Plato had been head of the Academy till he was eighty, while Socrates was just over seventy when he was put to death at the height of his powers. The Greeks of this time lived to great ages..." When Aristotle retired to Chalcis in Euboea, where he died rather suddenly in his sixty-third year, he doubtless looked forward to a restoration of the Macedonian power at Athens, and a speedy return to his school and his library, and to the consummation of all his previous labors.

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Griechische Palaeographie. Von Wilhelm Schubart. Müller-Otto Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1925). Pp. 184. 120 Illustrations.

The contents of Professor Wilhelm Schubart's book, Griechische Palaeographie, are as follows:

1. Literatur (1-4); 2. Das Gebiet der Schriftkunde (4-8); 3. Die Ordnung der Handschriften (8-11); 4. Die Papyri (11-13); 5. Die Gattungen der Schrift (13-23); 6. Die Geschäftsschrift: Ptolemaerzeit (23-47), Kaiserzeit (47-85), Byzantinische Zeit (85-97); 7. Die Schönschrift: Ptolemaerzeit (97-115), Kaiserzeit (115-136), Byzantinische Zeit (136-146); 8. Persönliche Handschrift (146-155); 9. Die Buchhandschriften des Mittelalters (Ältere, Mittlere und Jüngere Minuskel) (156-170); 10. Besondere Zeichen und Systeme (Lesezeichen, Initialen, Kürzungen, Tachygraphie, Ziffern, Noten, Stempelschrift) (171-179); Appendices (180-184).

A comparison between this book and that of Kenyon¹, which it supersedes, is an instructive commentary on the way in which the science of papyrology has

advanced and the extent to which the gaps in our knowledge have been filled. The history of Greek handwriting is no longer a matter of guessing from isolated examples. We are enabled by this book, with its numerous illustrations, to trace a continuous development from the earliest successors of Alexander to the period after the Arab conquest. The title is slightly inexact: the treatment of post-Byzantine palaeography is inadequate, and even the Byzantine period, as can be seen from the table of contents, is understressed for the sake of the Imperial and the Ptolemaic periods. No man, however, could be expected to know as an expert both ancient and medieval palaeography; indeed, few students would find useful a book which dealt with both. But the title might better have indicated that this volume is really a handbook to the palaeography of the Greek papyri. As such, it is one which few papyrologists of the present day could have written. Everywhere is revealed the sure touch of a man who has through constant handling of the ancient documents developed a highly specialized technique. Students of the papyri will find the work indispensable.

An innovation which will be welcomed is Professor Schubart's suggestion of a new division of manuscripts into the types Schönschrift, Kanzleischrift, and Geschäftsschrift (Chapter 5), to take the place of the former, unsatisfactory, categories: majuscule, minuscule, and uncial. This new terminology, which is modest enough, is heartily to be commended. Equally important is the insistence that the general style of handwriting is to be studied rather than the details of the alphabet. Here again (2) we may remark the development which has taken place as the result of our increasing knowledge of the papyri:

Die älteren Paläographen, aber auch noch die letzten Darsteller und Forscher haben mit besonderem Eifer die Entwicklung der einzelnen Buchstaben verfolgt und, um sie übersichtlich zu machen, zeitlich geordnete Alphabete ausgearbeitet. Ich habe es nicht getan, weil ich diesen Weg, dessen Nutzen ich hoch schätze, im wesentlichen für gebahnt halte und mir nicht einbilde, über die Vorgänger hinauskommen zu können. Jeder wird solche Vergleichsreihen irgendwie nach eigner Kenntnis und eignem Urteil anders als andre aufbauen, aber schwerlich noch einen Fortschritt erreichen, der dies Verfahren rechtfertigen könnte. Dagegen scheint es mir an der Zeit zu sein, diejenige Seite der Schrift in den Vordergrund zu rücken, die man Stil nennt. Nicht als ob meine Vorgänger den Stil nicht beachtet oder gewürdigt hätten; aber seine Bedeutung ist noch nicht so ausgeschöpft, dass man nicht hoffen dürfte, von hier aus weiter zu kommen.

The formation of large collections of papyri in the United States and the increasing interest shown by American scholars in this branch of classical research will make of particular value the practical suggestions with which Professor Schubart's book is filled. Passing comments, hints, and cautions are everywhere to be found. Such things, for instance, as the observation (24) that to the Greeks word-groups, rather than words, were considered as units, will be found of considerable interest. So too will be the remarks on the imaginary line (25); on schools of writing (29); on failure to syllabify (30); on the diminutive hand in

¹Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1899).

vogue at Alexandria (53); on the Kanzleischrift (60-61); on Greek handwriting outside of Egypt (72-73, 92), and on the Byzantine style as, in keeping with other manifestations of the period, showy and bizarre (86-87).

The reading of papyrus documents is, even if fascinating, none the less difficult; and it will be comforting to the student who has labored hard over the mere reading of texts to have from an expert like Professor Schubart reassurance (11) that the difficulty is appreciable even after decades of experience:

Dies alles fordert zunächst, dass wir die unendlich mannigfaltigen Hände lesen können oder wenigstens lesen lernen, denn selbst dem besten Schriftkundigen begegnen immer wieder Handschriften, die auch er nur mit Mühe bezwingt.

Professor Schubart follows this comment with some admirably practical remarks on the equipment of the prospective reader of papyri, and ends with a paragraph which I cannot forbear quoting (11):

Nun ist es gewiss im Grunde eine Kunst, oder um bescheidener zu reden, eine Fertigkeit, Handschriften zu lesen; eine Kunst, die man, von einem Könner angeleitet, am besten durch Übung lernt, aber nicht aus Büchern. Aufmerksamkeit auch auf das Kleinst und ein gutes Gedächtnis für Formen helfen weiter; jedoch Regeln aufzustellen ist bisher noch nicht gelungen und wird auch kaum gelingen. Wer keinen Blick für das Wesentliche hat, lernt es niemals. Daher kann kein Handbuch der Paläographie lesen lehren, und soviel verdienstvolle Gelehrte sich bemüht haben, durch Beschreibungen einzelner Handschriften und durch Übersichten über Buchstabenformen dem Anfänger zu helfen, am Ende hat doch jeder an den einzelnen Aufgaben sich selbst den Weg bahnen müssen. In der Überzeugung, dass diese oft mühselige und jedenfalls langwierige Arbeit keinem erspart werden kann, verzichte ich von vornherein darauf, ins Lesen einzuführen. Vielmehr will ich hier Entwicklung und Entfaltung der griechischen Schrift zu zeigen versuchen und hoffe damit auch dem zu dienen, der Handschriften entziffert, denn er wird verwandte Stücke befragen können, wenn er beurteilen lernt, wohin das seinige gehört; Zeit, Ort und Sonderart der Schrift können über die Erkenntnis der Schriftgeschichte hinaus auch im einzelnen Falle für die Entzifferung grosse Bedeutung gewinnen.

The sanity and caution exemplified by this excerpt are characteristic of the author; instances are to be seen throughout the book.

I may close this review with a few miscellaneous comments. By deliberate plan, the book takes the form of detailed comment on one hundred and twenty documents arranged chronologically and by type. There is therefore no explicit treatment of the history of palaeographical style, although, by putting together comments on individual pieces, the reader may construct for himself a history of style. It would have been interesting, however, if Professor Schubart had presented a brief generalization, showing the way in which fashions in handwriting changed from period to period. The outline of such a development should be attempted only by a master, and would have proved of interest, I think, to the general student of ancient manners. It might have made for readier usefulness had the dates of the documents illustrated been placed below the illustrations. There is but one omission

to which I feel it necessary to call attention. There is no treatment of what is to the beginner perhaps the most troublesome problem in the reading of texts, that furnished by abbreviations and symbols. Aside from a few passing comments and a meager paragraph (174), there is no mention of the many symbols which frequently make a reader's life miserable, although there is treatment of such subjects as musical notation, shorthand, etc. A division or chapter on this subject, with illustrations, would amply have justified the additional space, and have been most helpful to the student.

It may be well to remark in closing that the book will be indispensable to those who handle it cautiously. To those who wish merely to find data by which to classify a given piece, it may possibly do more harm than good. The dating of manuscripts from palaeographical considerations is a highly technical and specialized *Fach*, and on the whole the ordinary reader will do better to leave hands off. General style is the only real criterion, and intimate acquaintance with this style is the result of long and painstaking observation such as few men are able to devote to the subject. The danger inherent in any attempt to date by comparing two similar documents is well illustrated by Illustration 31, which was written in 82 A. D. in a style closely resembling that of the time of Augustus. "Es dürft's schwer sein", says Professor Schubart (56), "eine solche Hand genau einzureihen, und ohne die Jahreszahl könnte auch der Kenner sich um Jahrzehnte irren". Especially when any sort of argument depends upon the attribution of date should the editor of a given document exercise unusual restraint.

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Das Eisengeld der Spartaner. By Bernhard Laum. Braunsberg O. P.: Verlag der Staatlichen Akademie (1925). Pp. 55.

The title of Dr. Laum's dissertation, *Das Eisengeld der Spartaner*, hardly gives an adequate idea of its contents. It is true that it begins with a postulate, derived from a suggestion made by von Wilamowitz, that the *drepanai* ('sickles') dedicated to Artemis Orthia by boy victors in the games at Sparta were the Spartan iron money which is mentioned by ancient writers, and ends with the conclusion that the 'sickles' were used as money because they were instruments of sacred ritual. But the major part of the monograph is occupied with tracing the history of bull-fighting all over the Greek world and some outlying regions, and finding connections between this and the worship of Artemis. The argument is ingenious and interesting: but certain points do not seem to have been weighed, as they might have been weighed with advantage, by comparison with analogous facts, and Dr. Laum's hypotheses require fuller proof before they can be accepted.

In the first place, his postulate is not certainly sound. The statement (made by comparatively late authorities) is that the Spartans used iron money (in the form of bars, according to one writer). Bars of iron which might have served this purpose have actually

been found at Sparta, and iron coins of normal shape are known from Argos and one or two other Peloponnesian towns; but there is nothing in this to suggest *drepai*. Nor is there any connection between *drepai* and money at Sparta either in names or in types, such as has been quoted to show that certain articles were used as currency at other places: for instance, the double-axe is supposed to have been a unit of value at Tenedos and elsewhere, because it appears as a coin-type, and the name of the obol is derived, with more probability, from the spits which served as cash in early times. In any case there is a wide gap between the period at which, in Greece, values were expressed in terms of articles of commerce other than certified units of gold, silver, or bronze—at latest the sixth century B. C.—and the time when the 'sickles' were dedicated to Artemis under the Roman Empire.

It may, however, be conceded that, although there is no evidence of any kind that the Spartan *drepai* were used as money, there is nothing inherently impossible in the idea that they served as a standard for barter in early times. But when Dr. Laum proceeds to argue that the reason why these and other articles were so used was that they had a religious association, he seems to be inverting the natural order of development: the objects did not derive their special value from their dedication to the gods, but were dedicated to the gods because they were valuable. When primitive man had got so far on the path of civilization that he no longer made all things he needed for himself or took them by force from a neighbor, but acquired certain objects by barter, he naturally soon found that some unit was essential for expressing the relative value of different articles, and equally naturally something in common use, of which there was a standard type, was taken as a unit. In the bronze or iron age, a double-axe or a tripod or a spit would be a fairly obvious choice. Whatever was chosen, it would, being in common use, certainly be frequently dedicated to the gods, because the gods would need it just as much as men: the reason for its dedication was its utility. There is no more justification for supposing that *drepai* or double-axes or tripods were made into units of value because they were used in the temples than there would be for suggesting that gold and silver are currency because we drop them into the collection-boxes for the benefit of the churches.

The further conclusion which Dr. Laum deduces from these hypotheses, that the Spartan *drepae* must originally have been an instrument of ritual used in

connection with the sacrifice of bulls to Artemis Orthia, seems to be based on a misunderstanding of the nature of the *drepae*. Its shape is known, from actual examples preserved. It is not really a sickle, but a billhook: it might be used at a pinch for cutting grain, though it would be an unhandy instrument for this purpose, but it only tends to confusion to call it a 'sickle'. It is hardly possible to suppose that anyone would normally try to use it for cutting flesh, which is done with a blade of convex rather than concave curve: and it cannot be argued that the *drepae* was a primitive instrument which survived for a ritual operation, since such survivals occur only in the case of instruments originally intended for such operations which have been superseded in secular life by more efficient inventions. That is not the case here. The *drepae* might indeed be employed as a weapon in an emergency (bill-hooks, sickles, and scythes have proved very nasty things in peasants' wars), but it was essentially an implement of horticulture.

Moreover, there is no evidence that ritual bull-slaying was ever practised at Sparta. Dr. Laum seems to assume that it was, mainly on two grounds—the representation of bull-catching on the gold cups found near Sparta at Vaphio, and the use in children's games at Sparta of terms that were etymologically connected with cattle and herding. The first is surely of little weight, as there is no reason for believing the Vaphio cups to be of local workmanship. The terminology of children's games is, if one of the most interesting, also one of the most dangerous linguistic studies. The whole question of 'ritual' bull-fighting in Greece might well be investigated in relation to the zoological distribution of species. There are some regions, such as the plains of Thessaly, where cattle-raising was an important occupation, and there bull-hunting or bull-taming would be a natural exercise, as it is in Provence to-day: the art of mastering the bull was essential to the herdsman, and it followed that competitions were promoted to encourage dexterity in it. But in districts such as Crete, where cattle are a luxury, the bull-fights of Minoan times must have been an artificial display, probably a survival brought to the island by immigrants from a pastoral country and continued for spectacular purposes. It is impossible within the limits of a review to examine the long list of places at which Dr. Laum finds traces of bull-fighting, but in any case the picture which he draws of Spartan youths chasing bulls in the glens of Taygetus is not likely to convince anyone who has been there.

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